DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 250 256 SO 016 032

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TITLE Citizenship Education, Global Education, and the Education of Social Studies Teachers.
PUB DATE Nov 84
NOTE 14p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies (64th, Washington, DC, November 15-19, 1984).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Citizenship Education; *Curriculum Development; Educational Improvement; Educational Objectives; Elementary Secondary Education; Global Approach; Higher Education; *Inservice Teacher Education; Methods Courses; *Preservice Teacher Education; Professional Education; Relevance (Education); *Social Studies; Student Teaching

ABSTRACT

A major transformation in teacher education must occur if social studies education is to become soundly-based civic education that meets the needs of special interests, such as global education, without becoming dominated by those needs, and if teachers are to transcend the textbook so that goal statements are actually reflected in classroom practice. One step in this transformation would be to change the student teaching experience. Research shows that, rather than fulfilling its goal of having preservice teachers apply the model teaching practices they have learned in the classroom, the student teaching experience now serves to socialize prospective teachers into conservative school patterns. If, as Dewey (1916; 1933) noted, people think and learn when faced with problems real to themselves, then it would seem that prospective teachers could learn more if exposed to professional teacher education courses after they have had teaching experiences. This procedure would allow courses to capitalize on the needs teachers perceive as growing out of their own teaching experiences. The coursework that would follow this teaching experience would include a major emphasis on educational philosophy. The gap left in undergraduate education by the transfer of professional education courses to the graduate or inservice level could well be filled by a return to traditional liberal arts education. (LP)

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CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION, GLOBAL EDUCATION, AND THE EDUCATION OF SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS*

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Citizenship is a multidimensional construct. An adequate description of the "good" citizen must include reference to such attributes as beliefs, attitudes, values, decision-making abilities, dispositions to act, and participatory skills. Consequently, if social studies education is to meet its central citizenship education mission, the rationale for the curriculum and the curriculum itself must be comprehensive, with the various elements carefully synthesized. At the same time, special interest groups within the profession, each representing a dimension of citizenship, compete to win a special place in the social studies curriculum. Among these competitors is global education.

As in the broader multi-group, pluralistic society, social studies special interest groups serve important functions, especially by bringing neglected areas to the attention of the profession, injecting new energy into discussions of what social studies should be, and bringing novelty and enthusiasm to inservice activities for teachers. As Butts (1982a, p. 24) has pointed out, however, the results of lobbying by special interest professional groups are not all positive. The goals that such groups advocate for social studies are often narrow, rather than comprehensive. The groups often work at cross-purposes, with each trying to appropriate classroom time and school resources to its ends. And, most importantly, in their zeal for their particular causes, special interest proponents often obscure the overarching goals of civic education.

SO 016 032

*Paper presented at a session, Renewal Through Reform: Social Studies Teacher Education for a Global Society, at the annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D. C., November 16, 1984.

The activities of special interest groups do occasionally mesh with public interest and enjoy considerable fanfare, with federal funding and articles in professional journals. Significant programs can be identified in scattered school districts. But the truth of the matter is that special interest movements, in social studies as in other curricular areas, have little effect on schooling in this country, as recent studies of status indicate. Goodlad's (1984) nationwide study of schools confirmed the findings of the earlier NSF studies of status in mathematics, science, and social studies (Shaver, Davis, & Helburn, 1980) that despite grand statements of objectives, schooling in social studies continues to be dominated by textbook instruction, with students generally expected to learn overgeneralized "facts", through reading textbooks, listening in class, doing worksheets and other such exercises, and studying for tests that call largely for rote memory of the "facts".

In relation to global education, Goodlad (1984) noted that the goals put forth for schools are often idealistic, such as "understanding differing value systems; developing productive and satisfying relations with others based on respect, trust, cooperation, and caring; developing a concern for humanity". But, he concluded, the schools in his nationwide sample were "contributing minimally to the attainment of such goals"--while "with respect to some, they were rather neutral, with respect to others, they contributed negatively" (p. 239). He lamented the "relative paucity of vicarious experiences designed to connect students in some more passionate and compassionate way with a wholeness of human existence and especially with such existential qualities as hope, courage, and love of humankind" (p. 243). He could "see little in the curriculum, explicit or implicit, likely to promote keen awareness of humanity", and came away from his study unsurprised that young people have "relatively limited understanding of other cultures and some suspicion toward them" (p. 242).

Similar conclusions can be drawn in regard to the other facets of citizenship education, possibly with the exception of the socialization of students to current institutional constraints (Stake & Easley, 1978, 16:11-26)--an area of mixed blessings, raising a perennial dilemma (Berlak, 1977), with some arguing that the school simply serves the purpose of the ruling classes by subjugating the masses (Anyon, 1979; Apple, 1982) and with others, who don't necessarily disagree with the radical critique, pointing out the importance to societal stability of followers and accepters, as well as leaders and autonomous thinkers (e.g., Shaver, 1978; Goodlad, 1984, pp. 244-5).

Of course, reports such as those cited above on the status of schooling are double-edged: They can be used to indicate the ineffectiveness of special interest movements in social studies, or to argue for the need for renewed effort by those concerned, for example, with "global education". In the latter case, it seems clear that the place to begin in any effort to affect what goes on in social studies classrooms is with the textbooks themselves, or with the conditions of schooling which lead teachers--perhaps better put, in many instances, force teachers--to be so dependent upon textbooks and unimaginative recitation. (That type of teaching is, I believe, less likely to be the case with teachers who participate in the National Council for the Social Studies, which means that its deliberations about schooling are often conducted in a context lacking in reality.)

Education for Social Studies Teachers

Our efforts at teacher education seem to have had relatively little impact upon social studies instruction. Along with the discrepancy between goals and practice, there is a static pattern of courses and course content, with not only great similarity across the nation, but across time, so that if most of us were to step back into the classroom as students, we would find

things much the same as what we experienced some decades ago (Ponder, 1979; Shaver et al., 1980). Nevertheless, it still behooves us to address the question of appropriate teacher education for social studies teachers. Clearly, however, what is needed is not teacher education geared to one special interest, such as global education, but teacher education that addresses the broad question of how to prepare teachers to prepare their students for civic competence.

The essential question is, what is the appropriate teacher education for social studies teachers?--not for global education or some other special interest area. If that general question were properly addressed and teacher education programs adequately reflected the answers, then teachers would be prepared to handle well the various aspects of social studies within the general context of adequate citizenship education. In that sense, quotes such as those from Goodlad, do not suggest that we should pay more attention to teacher education for global education, or for some other special interest, but for citizenship education.

It is not global education per se, or economic education, law-related education, peace education, ethnic studies, or environmental education that is needed, but a social studies curriculum carefully based on a thoughtful rationale which takes into account the various elements of civic competency as the basis for a scope and sequence. One certainly will not find much help for such a curriculum in the preliminary NCSS scope and sequence statement published in the April, 1984 Social Education. As Jesus Garcia (1984) noted in his reaction to that statement, it is basically conservative, indeed reactionary, rather than an adequately formulated proposal for social studies education.

The preliminary statement of scope and sequence is instructive, however, in that it demonstrates the difficulty of change in American schools. If a task force of the National Council for the Social Studies, set up to consider

scope and sequence, feels compelled to model its statement on what already exists in the schools rather than on a vision of what should be, then clearly the inertia limiting change is tremendous. And, this is an important consideration in contemplating the education of social studies teachers, because the potential for affecting any proposed changes will be constrained by the forces for continuity in both the public schools and schools of education.

The Role of Student Teaching

The conservative influence of the public schools and schools of education is well illustrated by the effects of student teaching. The purpose of student teaching is to introduce prospective teachers to the classroom in the role of teacher rather than student and to have them apply what they have been learning about good instruction in their university professional education courses, under the tutelege of an experienced teacher who, too, will help them to do their best possible teaching. Yet, what researchers (e.g., Hoy & Rees, 1977) find is that the attitudes of student teachers tend to shift from new and innovative to traditional during that field experience. Rather than providing the anticipated opportunity to initiate practice in the the cutting edge instructional methods which, hopefully, they have learned about in their professional education courses, student teaching serves to socialize prospective teachers into the conservative patterns of school practice documented by both the NSF studies of status (Shaver et al., 1980) and Goodlad's study of American schools (1984). And that effect is frequently reinforced by university supervisors who are concerned that student teachers fit smoothly into school routines (Tabachnick, Popkewitz, & Zeichner, 1980)--so that the school of education not be viewed as radical and so as not to create difficulties for the university's bureaucratic need to provide placements for student teachers.

Acquiescence and conformity rather than the trying out of exciting new ideas are emphasized, an effect which has been noted even in teacher training programs considered to be exemplary (Oliver & Shaver, 1961).

Student teaching is, of course, the first real opportunity for prospective teachers to experience what it means to teach. It is little wonder that it is commonly acclaimed as the most important part of teacher education. Nevertheless, we should not allow such testimonials to obscure the possibility that student teaching conducted under present conditions may indeed be a strong counterforce to the stated aims of professional teacher education.

If the effects of the student teaching portion of teacher education are to be salutory, the structure for providing those experiences, including in many instances the nature of both the university supervisory personnel and the public school cooperative teachers, as well as the public school setting, must be drastically altered. How to do that broadly within the existing institutional constraints defies imagination. It is, in a sense, that age-old question of how institutions can reenergize themselves, particularly when those with renewing ideas are most likely to be rejected by those who are most powerful and when the reality of the teaching situation--the large number of students with which teachers must deal and the heavy demands of classroom management--dictate against time and energy for reflective thought or creative curriculum building.

The point, of course, is not that the purpose of the field experience, or of teacher education generally, should be to produce protestors to attack school traditions and local expectations without regard for that which is good in traditional schooling--for example, essential to the societal stability which rests on socialization of the young (Shaver et al., 1980; Goodlad, 1984, pp. 244-5). Nor is the purpose to prepare prospective teachers to be sacrificed as Socratic figures who publicly and consistently

prick the consciences of administrators, patrons, and other teachers (Shaver, 1980). The purpose, however, must be to help teachers become more thoughtful, so that present forms of schooling and of social studies teaching are not accepted without question and there is ongoing reflection about purpose and how method and content affect purpose.

When Should Professional Education Courses Be Taken?

The importance accorded student teaching by those who have completed their teacher education may have serious implications for the education of social studies teachers. Perhaps, we now have the cart before the horse. That is, if, with Dewey (1916; 1933), we believe that people think and learn when faced with problems real to themselves, then it would seem that the time to expose students to most professional teacher education courses would be after they have teaching experience rather than prior to that experience (Shaver, 1979; 1983). Rather than having twenty-five percent or so of undergraduate teacher education taken up by professional education courses, professional education might well be limited to student teaching, preceded by the minimal instruction in lesson planning and classroom management to facilitate stepping in front of the classroom, and accompanied by a seminar to capitalize on the actual teaching experience through discussions with a university supervisor and other student teachers of the problems and questions that arise, as well as of issues raised by the supervisor from classroom observations.

From this point of view, most professional education would be reserved until the challenges and frustrations of actual extended classroom teaching have been experienced (in the best of circumstances, initially under the guidance and tutelege of an experienced and competent colleague), and survival concerns mitigated. At that point, in my experience, teachers can become more thoughtful. They are not only willing to address, but find

meaningful, questions about student disinterest, and they are eager to consider both questions of rationale and alternative approaches to instruction. The point here, as with the student teaching seminar, would be to capitalize on the "felt needs" of teachers--the dissonances, the perplexities, the uncertainties that lead to thought (Dewey, 1933)--growing from their teaching experience and, sometimes, stimulated by questions about and discussions of that experience--and to build on a liberal education to not only provide teachers with an intellectual context for the consideration of civic education, but prepare them to respond to the broader issues of civic education in the schooling setting (see, e.g., Shaver & Strong, 1982).

Philosophy in the Education of Teachers

The graduate and/or inservice education proposed above would introduce teachers to an array of curricular and instructional approaches upon which they could build, given their experience. More fundamentally, it would include a major emphasis on educational philosophy--not on learning about philosophy, but on doing one's own philosophy. The objective would be to educate teachers as philosophers, in the Deweyean sense of persons who reflect on their experiences, testing and developing ideas as part of their actual work, so that there is an intertwining of theory and practice and a personal philosophy of education that is living and growing through the continuing reconstruction of experience (Dewey, 1964).

Such professional education would stress reflection about the assumptions from which the teachers teach, perceptiveness in regard to the implications of the content they select and of the ways in which they organize and present that content, as well as thoughtfulness about the ways in which the social structures of their classrooms and their schools affect outcomes. One aim would be teachers who are aware that the school's obligation to teach basic democratic values can be fulfilled only if those

ethical principles permeate the school so that students are provided with the experience of participating in their contemplation and application (Dewey, 1909), and who recognize that their own thoughtfulness about the values of a democratic society is essential to civic education in a time when considerations of global interdependence in an emerging world community must be an integral part of a viable rationale for social studies education.

How About Liberal Education?

What would replace the professional courses which undergraduate students now take? We could return to traditional liberal education as the most fundamental type of civic education (Butts, 1982b), to enhance the civic literacy of teachers and their ability to enhance the civic competence of their students. The preparation would not be for global education, or law-related education, or any other special interest, but for civic competence through a wide exposure to the humanities and the social sciences.

The hours formerly spent in professional education could well be spent in such liberal education. In addition, social studies teachers, rather than having a major in a subject matter area, could well major in liberal education. This, of course, runs counter to the emphasis on vocationalism which has a strong hold on teacher education (Butts, 1982b; Shaver, 1984). Prospective social studies teachers would take some coursework in science and in mathematics, but the emphasis would be on the humanities, the social sciences, and the arts, as these can inform one's perspective on the human condition. Included would be courses in European history and in Western thought, but also in Asian, Russian, African, and South American history, as well as in Eastern philosophy. From the social sciences would come anthropology, with an emphasis on the role of culture and cross-cultural comparisons; government with attention to the American constitutional system, comparative government, and international law and relations; sociology, with

its attention to the functions of institutions and social roles; economics, both national and comparative; and, psychology, with emphasis on interpersonal relations, including prejudice.

Such an education would not include a course in global education as such, or not necessarily even in international human rights (Tucker, 1982). A sound liberal education helps one to appreciate the meaning of humanness as it has evolved in Western society into our democratic constitutional framework, and the extent of the commonalities as well as divergencies across cultures. It should also introduce students to major modes of inquiry in the humanities, arts, and social sciences. Given the content orientation of most college classes, which means that prospective teachers lack models of inquiry in their own K-university education (Moore, 1978; Shaver et al., 1980), the latter would require extensive curricular revision by liberal arts faculty, while the former would require primarily only careful course selection by students and advisors. Such a college education would be the best preparation for teachers who are to prepare their students to consider the fundamental moral values of human civilization and persistently to think rigorously about the human condition, and about how to create a just civilization with a sense of civic community that transcends the current emphasis on segmentation and fragmentation of the world society, in order that the human condition can be improved (Butts, 1982a).

Margaret Branson's (1982) response when asked to create a list of books on human rights is, by implication, an elegant plea for such education. Her introductory paragraphs on the importance of books to human existence are worth reading in themselves. Then, her list of "books too good to miss" is most instructive, ranging from Brecht's The Life of Galileo to Philip's Lest Innocent Blood be Shed to Shaw's St. Joan: The Chronicle Play in Six Acts and an Epilogue. These, and her list of books for younger children, are mostly not direct discussions of human rights, but literary efforts to invoke

our compassion for the human condition. That is the role of the arts and humanities in liberal education.

A proposal for the liberal education of teachers runs counter to the general tendency in professional education to argue that there must be a specific course to handle each new identified need. For prospective social studies teachers, becoming educated is much more important than becoming vocationalized, but it is the latter which the profession and colleges of teacher education have emphasized in recent years. All else being equal, given a choice between a person with a liberal-inservice education of the kind alluded to above and one with the more typical professional teacher education, there is little question in my mind as to which I would prefer to teach my own children, as well as to teach in any social studies classroom across the country.

Conclusion

If social studies education is to become soundly-based civic education that meets the needs of special interests, such as global education, without becoming dominated by those needs, and if teachers are to transcend the textbook so that grand statements of goals are actually reflected in classroom practice, a major transformation in the education of teachers is needed. Tinkering here and there is not the answer.

Whether the possibility of such teacher education exists is not clear. Freeing ourselves from our strongly rooted patterns of thought and behavior is a tremendous challenge; and such efforts must take place within the recognition that the inertia generated by commitment does provide for valuable continuity in social institutions.

There is a need for radical critique of both the society and the institutions that educate social studies teachers to prepare students for that society. What is proposed in this paper is a drastic departure from

most, but not all, teacher education programs. What are the hopes for such teacher education? My response would be to note once more the tenacity of institutional arrangements.

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